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THE Nation

NOVEMBER 19, 1955

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WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Russia's Lethal Giveaway Program

by Lillie Shultz

Bulganin of Arabia

by Jon Kimche

Kafka, U.S. Army Style

by Dan Wakefield

The Westinghouse Strike

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The Unforgettable Mayor of the Bayou City

Houston, Texas

NOT TOO long ago a political opponent of the incumbent mayor of Houston quipped rhetorically to reporters' questions concerning his adversary: "Hofheinz, who's he?" Indeed, who is this man who wears speckled silk suits without lapels, and blinds his councilmanic foes with cuff links the size of half-dollars while slugging them with oratory in the name of good city government?

Ask voting Houstonians among the city's approximately 700,000 souls, who sometimes prefer City Hall reading to the funnies, and they will say he is everything from a "dictatorial egotist" to "one of the most honest mayors we've ever had."

If Roy Mark Hofheinz is the dictator of the Bayou City, his rule for nearly three years now (one and one-half terms thus far) has not been one which is characteristic of an unchallenged leader. Since five minutes after he took office for the first time in 1953 the City Hall has been the scene of continuous struggle between him and the eight members of the city council. In fact the councilmen almost unseated him last summer in an ill-fated impeachment attempt. They charged him with permitting and ordering city property to be illegally disposed of, ordering the director of public utilities not to collect and dispose of garbage, failing to furnish the city controller with the necessary information for a determination of the financial needs of Houston, and a list of other malfeasances of comparable weight. Their knowledge of the law, however, was not as great as their venom against the mayor and a series of court hearings upset their plans.

Persuasive in his speech, determined and obstinate in his quest for obedience, the forty-three-year-old son of a laundry truck driver is untiring in his struggle for power at the City Hall. To indicate to his councilmen that he means business, he will not always employ the subtle approach. Last year he ordered his chief of police to arrest four councilmen and bring them to the council chambers when it appeared they were not willing to listen to him that day.

If Hofheinz is reputed to be one of the most honest mayors the people have ever known, the reputation has been created largely through the silver tongue of hizzoner himself, who has never missed an opportunity to don the halo of incorruptibility, especially when the breath of scandal touches his administration. In addition to the turbulent times of his near impeachment, Hofheinz has survived a narcotics scandal in his police department which brought the federal men to town, a major upheaval involving illegal city-land sales in which several of his employees were indicted, and several lesser exposures of irregular dealings from within the City Hall. Through all this, however, the mayor's personal escutcheon has remained unbesmirched.

His opponents can search his record, as they have so frequently been doing with his subordinates, and find that their mayor is a millionaire. But they are unable to prove that he made his money in other endeavors than radio and real estate.

His not-so-unique status as a millionaire in this city of wealth was realized in 1953, fulfilling a promise to friends that by the time he was forty he would make a million and then return to politics. He made that promise in 1944, when he quit the job as county judge which he had won at the age of twenty-four. Five years earlier young Hofheinz had received his law degree from the University of Houston. His precocity in public affairs made itself apparent in 1934 when, at the age of twenty-two, he was elected to the Texas legislature and soon became known as the "boy orator from Buffalo Bayou." He has since become known in some press quarters in Houston as "the boy Mayor."

As a county judge Hofheinz was an efficient administrator, presiding over four courts and five administrative boards. As a legislator he was ambitious and competent, authoring the resolution that later led to the old-age-pension amendment to the Texas constitution.

As the mayor of the largest city below the Mason-Dixon line, he attacks his job with the ferocity of the tiger and the endurance of a marathon runner.

But campaigns (he is now in his third as a result of a public vote for a new mayor and city council last summer) and special appearances are his specialty. Last August, at the plush City Music Hall, Hofheinz appeared with his wife and two of his three children to stage one of his most extravagant extravaganzas. With a battery of TV cameras and newsmen looking on and surrounded by displays of blown-up photostats of documents and an array of city-bought items such as car batteries, pens, parking meters, and the like, he barked back at his councilman who had been charging him with trying to seek control of the city. He presented his stock-in-trade list of accomplishments such as freeway building and the administration of an honest purchasing program.

On November 19 the people of Houston will decide whether to keep Hofheinz, elect a man who has been Houston's mayor ten times before, or gamble on the third candidate, a newcomer. Whatever the outcome, they'll be talking about Roy Mark Hofheinz for a long time to come.

VICTOR JUNGER

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

No Balm in Gilead

Discounting the influence of local issues and intramural plots and intrigues, the Democrats fared much better than the Republicans in the November 8 election. Hard pressed to find any solace in the returns, Republican soothsayers point to isolated successes as in San Francisco and Faixfax County, Virginia. But the vote in Virginia was more a slap at the Byrd machine than a vote of confidence in the G. O. P. And in San Francisco, most of the local Democratic leaders supported the Republican, George Christopher.

While the Philadelphia election was largely determined by local factors, the Republicans had committed to it the prestige of their top leaders, including the President. Despite this powerful intervention, Richardson Dilworth won the majority by a plurality of 131,453 and Victor H. Blanc swamped his Republican opponent in the race for district attorney. Down the years the Republicans have enjoyed a big edge in registrations in Pennsylvania but since 1954 the Democrats have been gaining; this year the Democrats made a net gain in registrations of approximately 50,000 since the May primary.

In Indiana, the Democrats made a sweep in mayoralty elections across the state despite the fact that Indiana has a Republican governor, two Republican Senators, and was in the Republican column in 1952. The Democratic nominee for district attorney carried New York's Queens County, which Governor Dewey had carried in 1950, which gave President Eisenhower a margin of 119,193 votes in 1952, and which the Republican nominee carried against Mayor Wagner in 1953. When the returns in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Kentucky are also taken into account, it is apparent that the Democrats have a great deal more reason for satisfaction than do the Republicans.

The principal immediate effect of the election has been to give new impetus to the movement to draft Chief Justice Warren as the Republican nominee. The Chief Justice has been saying "no" with increasing emphasis and frequency but one may remark, without questioning Mr. Warren's sincerity, that so experienced and skilful a politician must be aware that the very frequency and vehemence with which he makes these disclaimers has the effect of enhancing his potential value as a nominee. And who was it that said that sincerity, like virtue, is one of the arts?

Lifting the Ford Hood

The decision to sell Ford stock to the public marks a new stage in the company's amazing postwar challenge to General Motors. It is true that the Ford Foundation has felt for some years that it would be prudent to diversify its holdings. But the company management and the Ford family would never have agreed to the sale unless they saw something in it for themselves. They have finally accepted that the days of personalized capitalism are over and that there are real advantages in spreading ownerhip among the public. For one thing, stockholders tend to buy the company's product. For another, a public corporation is in a much better position to raise new capital. It is also possible that Ford officials are not displeased to have the company disassociated with the Ford Foundation in view of the numerous political controversies in which the latter has found itself in recent months.

Although the Ford family has agreed to relinquish to the public at least 60 per cent of their voting rights, their remaining 40 per cent is more than enough to ensure their continued control of the company, assuming that the shares sold are widely distributed as planned. Thus the main sacrifice the family is making is that of becoming accountable in public, both through annual stockholders meetings and the required registration with the Security and Exchange Commission. The initial statement the company is now preparing to file should make old Henry Ford turn in his grave. For the first time the company's earnings, assets, and dividends will be revealed. The chairman of the board of directors, Ernest R. Breech, has already revealed that the company's profits will surpass in 1955 its aggregate earnings for the entire twenty-one years prior to World War II. These calculations point to a net profit after taxes this year of between $325 and $350 millions—equivalent to between $6 and $7 a share on each of the 53,500,000 shares outstanding when the foundation's shares are split fifteen for one and the Ford family's share twenty for one.

If the stock is valued by the underwriters at the conventional ten times net earnings, its initial price would be between $60 and $70 a share. The entire initial offer of nearly 7,000,000 shares may thus yield a record $500,000,000. The price may be set somewhat lower, however, in the hope of ensuring a steady upward movement of the market value. Some market analysts believe that Ford has delayed this first sale beyond the most advantageous point. The market seems to have reached its peak and the new Ford stock may be bucking

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the trend in the months ahead. But the floods of inquiries already received by brokers indicate that the initial issue, at any rate, will be heavily oversubscribed.

The King Is Dead

The trouble with our economy, according to Robert A. Whitney, president of the National Sales executives (*Advertising Age,* November 7), is that the people who like it have little relish for the name that history has given it. In Europe particularly "capitalism is a dirty word"; the people just won't buy it. Indeed, Mr. Whitney goes so far as to suggest that "capitalism is dead"—as a name, that is—and that it should be replaced with a new term, "consumerism." "The consumer is king in our economy—not capital. Everything is done to interest the consumer and the standard of living of the country is measured by what the consumer has, not by how much we produce." On the other hand, Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, while agreeing that we "produce a great product which is nameless," rejects consumerism in favor of "people's capitalism." The long-suffering American taxpayer, he feels, would never consent to underwrite a world-wide propaganda effort to popularize "consumerism." But doesn't "people's capitalism" carry an unfortunate echo of Henry Wallace's heresy of 1948, "progressive capitalism"? And should the word "people's" be used as long as the satellite regimes in Eastern Europe are known as "peoples' democracies"? Apart from these quibbles, do we really want to the judged exclusively upon the basis of how much we produce or consume? Is it really a weakness that, as Edgar Snow pointed out in last week's *Nation,* we have nothing in the way of an "ideology" except a faith in human equality and democratic processes based on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its Bill of Rights? Aren't they enough? Besides, even if we were to re-christen capitalism, wouldn't the Communists insist that it was merely a case of our saying the king is dead, long live the king?

The "Economic Subconscious"

Whatever reasons prompted the Soviet Union to dismiss Alexander V. Vlasov as president of the Soviet Academy of Architecture, it is highly unlikely that they were so pressing as to have called for action while Mr. Vlasov was still in this country as part of a Soviet housing delegation. Russia's professed desire to encourage Soviet-American cultural and technical exchanges will not be advanced by chopping off heads in full view of the American public. But this reflection on inept Soviet public relations calls to mind some lamentable failures of our own in connection with this same housing group, which has had an unfavorable press here in contrast to its predecessor, the Soviet agricultural delegation. In Washington, a newsman persisted in baiting I. K. Kouzilia, chief of the visiting group, with the childish question: "Name one building material used in the United States that is better than what you use in Russia." Non-diplomacy on an even grander scale was practiced by *Business Week* in a lengthy article on the delegation's visit to Boston. Here is a sample:

> At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology the Russians were intensely interested in exchanging information, brought along thirteen new Russian books as a gift. But the M. I. T. professors seemed bored with what the Russians were ready to tell them about Soviet techniques. The Reds said they had digested most United States textbooks and monographs, asked whether Americans had done the same with Russian literature. One professor replied, "We receive your publications but we don't bother to translate them."

In reporting this exchange in the context of a generally snide article, *Business Week* proved itself as boorish as the professor (if he was accurately quoted).

Perhaps the divergence in treatment accorded Russia's agriculturists and its housing experts stems from what may be termed our "economic subconcious." Both agriculture and housing are public enterprises in the Soviet Union, but no one here fears that Washington is planning to collectivize the nation's farms. Public housing, however, is obviously a clear and present danger to the realty lobby and the newspapers which support it. It is interesting that Mr. Kuzilia had occasion to remark that his delegation has been given little opportunity to visit public-housing developments in this country. Apparently we are as afraid to display the virtues of liberal capitalism as the M. I. T. professor was to search for possible virtues in Russian's communism.

The End of Golf

The Supreme Court's ruling that racial segregation in public parks, playgrounds, and golf courses is unconstitutional has provoked the usual chorus of silly protests and confused predictions from below the Mason-Dixon line. "It means the end of most public golf courses," is the doleful comment of Georgia's former governor, Herman Talmadge. In Birmingham an official has announced that swimming pools and parks will be closed since "intermingling" would lead to bloodshed. On the other hand, Georgia's attorney general is frightened at the prospect that intermingling might lead to intermarriage! Southern states and communities may be able to stop all publicly-financed education and recreation; there is, after all, nothing in the Constitution that prevents a community from committing cultural suicide. But it is hard to believe that the South, which just might sacrifice public education to preserve its prejudices, would ever give up golf, even to prevent a catastrope worse than bloodshed, namely, the intermingling which leads to intermarriage.

Watch December 3 issue of The Nation *for special coverage of the American labor movement.*

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WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Herewith are presented two analyses—one American, one British—of the Middle East crisis and its profound implications for world peace and the present direction of Western foreign policy. Lillie Shultz, for eleven years the director of the Nation Associates, has written extensively on the Middle East and has covered for *The Nation* all U. N. debates on Palestine since 1947. Jon Kimche, a British journalist, spent many years as a correspondent in the Middle East and is the author of "Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East."

I. Russia's Lethal Giveaway . . *by Lillie Shultz*

RUSSIA'S lethal giveaway program in the Middle East, with its disastrous effect on Western hegemony there and its implicit threat of war, is of American design and manufacture.

The design stolen by the Russians and malevolently embellished by them was the successful American appeal to the vanity of the Arabs by the offer, accepted by Iraq in the spring of 1954, to supply arms without political strings. This shallow maneuver succeeded, as intended, in inducing Iraq to participate in a mutual-assistance treaty with Turkey and Pakistan, allied to NATO. Participation of any Arab state in an Allied Middle East defense agreement had until then been strenuously opposed by Egypt and other members of the Arab League. As important as the assurance of United States arms to Iraq was Iraq's displacement of Egypt as the center of the Arab world and of Allied wooing. The agreement split the Arab League—a split which the United States hoped ultimately would lead to Arab adherence, one by one, to a military alliance with Turkey and the West. The anticipated benefits have not materialized. Instead of sealing off the Soviet Union, against whom the pact was directed, the agreement opened the doors of the Middle East barred to Russia since time immemorial.

Today, in every Arab country, where communism is prohibited and punishable by imprisonment or death, the Arab governments themselves have become the principal admirers and defenders of the Soviet Union. How was this anomaly produced?

The catalyst was the so-called "northern tier" defense pact, based on Turkey and Pakistan, since joined by Iraq, Britain, and Iran. Instead of containing the Soviet Union, it pushed the "neutralism" of Asia and the Arab bloc, hitherto passive, into an "activism" of which the present Czechoslovak-Egyptian arms deal is only one startling result.

Egypt was not the only country caught unaware and wounded in its national pride by the United States-Iraq arms deal and the subsequent Middle East pact. The inclusion of Pakistan, foe of India, as a keystone in the arrangement profoundly offended the sensibilities of Nehru. This common resentment in 1954 forged the loose *ad hoc* relationship between India and Egypt into a hard bloc against the United States. The leader of the great democratic experiment in India, whose strongest claim to world imagination has been his morality, became the sponsor and ally of Nasser, head of Egypt's military dictatorship.

SEEKING a way to express independence of the West, to promote peace and to improve Asian-Arab conditions, Nehru conceived the Bandung conference, held in the spring of 1954 with the participation of sixteen countries, including Communist China. It was at Bandung that India sold morality short when it refused to invite Israel under the threat of Arab withdrawal. It was at Bandung that India permitted passage, without a dissenting vote, of an Arab resolution condemning Israel. It was at Bandung that Nasser, cosseted by Nehru, met Chou En-lai and received his first V. I. P. treatment from top Communist officialdom.

The turning point was Bandung, which produced the shower of invitations to Nasser by Russia and its satellites leading to the consummation of the Czech arms deal with Egypt. But Bandung was by no means the starting point. Russia has always coveted a warm-water port and a role in the Middle East. Since the end of World War II, it has served repeated notice to the West of its intention to push Britain out of the Middle East and itself to fill the vacuum. Russian support of Palestine partition in 1947 was part of this overall purpose. The Jews seeking a state were breaking Britain's hold on the Middle East. So Russia supported them. As upsurging Arab nationalism created further pressure on Britain's entrenched position, Russian support shifted to the Arab side—a shift made easier by Israel's abandonment of its neutralist policy in favor of identification with the West.

Since 1950 Russia's tactics in the U. N. on successive occasions "saved" the Arab states from resolutions requiring direct negotiation with Israel on peace in general or on settlement of specific conflicts. Each such "victory" has been widely publicized in the Arab press and appropriate thanks given to the Russians.

In 1952 the Russians made a bold bid to establish consanguinity with the Arabs by launching their domestic campaign against the Jews. It was not, however, until the United States set the example in Iraq that the Russians found the key which unlocked the door to the Middle East—the appeal to vanity through arms.

The Egyptians are now to receive planes, tanks, submarines, and other heavy weapons from Czechoslovakia. The bill comes to between seventy-five and one hundred million dollars —a hundred times the amount of arms received by Egypt from the United States in the last five years. The arms are said to include 200 MIG jet fighters, among them surplus MIG 15's as well as the later MIG 17's, 100 Russian tanks, and six submarines. Thus Egypt becomes the most strongly armed state in the area.

Egypt claims it accepted the Czechoslovak offer only after it failed

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last June to obtain $27,000,000 worth of weapons from the United States. According to reports, Egypt offered to pay either in local currency or in cotton instead of dollars (neither was acceptable under United States law) and also was unwilling to sign a stipulation that the arms would not be used for aggression.

Ten shipments have already arrived in Egypt and with them about twenty Communist military technicians. These technicians are in addition to Egyptians sent to Czechoslovakia to be trained in the use of the new arms.

Not to be overlooked are the terms of the arrangement. The weapons are priced at one-fifth to one-tenth of what they would cost in the West. The arms deal is primarily a barter arrangement—Egyptian cotton and rice for arms—sealed by a small cash payment of one million pounds sterling. It is this barter aspect which is making a strong appeal to other countries, Middle Eastern and Asian, who have no hard currency and to whom the Communists have now made similar offers. Syria is reported to be contemplating such a deal, as are Saudia Arabia, Yemen, and Afghanistan.

Economic Aid, Too

The arms offers have been buttressed by proffers of economic aid, based largely on barter or on low-rate long-term loans. Russia has offered Egypt help in building the high dam at Aswam on a barter deal plus a 3 per cent long-term loan, as against a more exigent financial arrangement offered by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which estimates the cost at between $1,250,000,000 and $1,500,000,000. Syria is being lured by Russian offers to purchase its surplus products on long-term loans. In Afghanistan the Russians have built oil-storage tanks at Kabul and are building a sixty-mile oil pipeline from the Uzbeck, Soviet Socialist Republic, to the Afghan city of Mozar-sherf. They are paving the streets of Kabul and they are financing a five-million dollar cement factory, as well as tannery and glass factories. Afghan amenability to Russia reflects its animosity to Pakistan, with whom it is quarreling these days over 7,000,000 Pathan tribesmen, as well as its resistance to unofficial pressure by Western powers. It is seeking also to secure arms on a barter arrangement for defense against Pakistan. The impending visit to Afghanistan of Bulganin and Khrushchev is expected to further strengthen Soviet-Afghan ties.

For the first time in history a Soviet legation will be posted in Yemen. Negotiations to this end are now going forward.

Indonesia is being wooed with a Soviet offer to purchase its tin and rubber, bolstered by a loan to restore its sugar mills. Burma is being offered heavy equipment in exchange for surplus rice; India, technical assistance in addition to a large steel mill which the Russians are now building.

Soviet economic penetration of Egypt has already begun and does not await the scheduled visit of Nasser to Russia in the spring. Cairo has concluded a series of barter arrangements with the Soviet bloc for the exchange of Egyptian cotton for Russian petroleum products, Hungarian locomotive and consumer goods, Polish coal, East German construction equipment and consumer goods.

Under a three-year arrangement with China, Egypt will sell thirty million dollars worth of cotton and will buy only six million dollars worth of Chinese products. China will pay cash in pound sterling for twenty-four million dollars worth of Egyptian cotton.

Good-will missions are carrying the Soviet message forward in all the Arab countries.

NONE of the Russian offers is made conditional on military or political alliances. It is the lack of such formal conditions, the reverse of the American tactic, which is allaying the principal Arab fear—that of foreign domination. In the space of two months, the Russians have reversed the course of centuries in the Middle East and present the most formidable direct challenge to Western holdings and power in the area.

As a result the effectiveness of the "northern tier" defense pact is lessened, if not destroyed; French Morocco is subject to an incursion of Soviet arms via Egypt, the principal supporter of the Moroccan nationalists; the Suez Canal zone is threatened with immobilization, the outbreak of an Arab-Israel war is possible which may involve the West.

How to resolve these problems and how to stop the further Russian penetration of a continent rich in oil, minerals, strategic communications, and ripe for Communist persuasion by reason of the appalling social and economic conditions of life in all the Arab countries—that is the dilemma of the West.

Will It Be War?

Russian arming of the Arabs carries with it the implicit threat of a war against Israel. For eight years all the Arab states have been fulminating against Israel, threatening a second round. They have been deterred primarily by lack of arms.

To be sure, Nasser has stated that he does not plan aggression against Israel; that he needs the arms in order to assuage the vanity of the army on whose support he is dependent and which has been resentful over its lack of modern equipment.

One may believe that for the moment, at least, Nasser would not deliberately engage in such a war for two obvious reasons: (1) Israel is at present superior in fighting discipline, and spirit; (2) Nasser has more to gain from the mere threat of war than by putting to the test his army's ability to win it. He now has both Russia and the United States bidding for his favor; Israel is nervous, if not intimidated, and the U. N. is pleading for pacification. But when Soviet arms will give him vast military strength, how can one predict with certainty that *amour propre* will not take the form of full-scale attack on Israel by an army seeking to destroy the memory of defeat?

In Israel there is talk of a "preventive" war. Harrassed by increasing border violence, there are strong elements in the country who demand that the Arabs be taught a lesson now, before Israel's military strength is outdistanced by Egypt's Russian bonanza. There are three deterrents. Israel does not want a war; it neither wants an additional Arab population, nor could it absorb it. It would be certain to be condemned by the U. N., and possibly forced to retreat. And, most important of all, such a war would further alienate it from the Arab-Asian world of which it wishes to be an integral part.

Still, if border violence continues,

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and no guarantees of Israel's security are given, radical elements could win out before Arab arms superiority immobilizes Israel. Moreover, it is conceivable that Israel, seeking to develop South Asian and East African trade, will refuse to submit any longer to the blockade imposed by Egypt in the Gulf of Aqaba. Egyptian guns on the approaches to the gulf can prevent, and have prevented, the passage of ships bound for Israel, as well as British ships. Israel may oppose force with force.

Nor is Russian likely to be plotting a military war. Moscow has already been successful in upsetting the Western applecart in the Middle East without firing a shot. But it seems perfectly willing to run the risk of provoking an Arab-Israel war through its lavish arming of Egypt and any other Arab state which will accept its arms.

As long as a state of Arab-Israel belligerency exists, the danger of war exists in an area of inflamed passions. Nasser, it should be underscored, has consistently told the Security Council that a state of belligerency does exist. Moreover, in an area of abysmal poverty, a war against Israel could be used by unscrupulous governments as a kind of lightning rod to deflect the anger of the masses. One incident could cause a conflagration, given Israel's new and justified apprehensions and the new military strength and arrogance of the Arabs.

Can the big powers stay clear of an Arab-Israel war? With the West's huge stakes in the Middle East, this seems almost impossible—particularly since Russia's entry into that area—even if the 1950 declaration of the United States, Britain and France guaranteeing the borders of Israel and the Arab states did not automatically involve them.

Apprehensive of the future, there are voices in NATO today counseling Britain to return to the Suez Canal *now* before it is too late. Loss of the zone to the Western alliance would be a stupendous one. Fears concerning it have been stimulated by reports that Nasser, once the last British soldier has left the zone by the end of 1956, will denounce that section of the agreement with Britain permitting the latter's return to it in the event of aggression against Turkey or an Arab state. Nasser has denied the rumor. Can one count on the word of an Egyptian dictator who in September, 1953, stated that he preferred funds for development to arms; who, on August 15, 1955, told Cyrus Sulzburger of the New York *Times* that he was afraid communism was trying to subvert his army; who, in the fall of 1955, gave the greatest stimulus to Communist penetration through his purchase of $100,000,000 worth of arms from Communist Czechoslovakia? And if the present Egyptian-Soviet alliance progresses, is there likelihood that the agreement would ever be honored except in the breach?

The American Dilemma

The resulting overwhelming American dilemma is largely of our own making, deriving from a policy of deliberate blindness to the revolution against colonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and to the wishes and needs of its peoples. To the securing of military bases every consideration of logic, decency, practicality, and democracy involved in true security had been subordinated.

The Russians have now demonstrated that they cannot be contained by Allied military pacts, and the Arab governments have demonstrated, as one observer wittily put it, that they cannot be bought but only rented to the highest bidder.

This situation we ourselves helped to create by shoring up unstable and unworthy governments through a policy of appeasement which began with the Palestine question in 1947. The United States vote for partition was a reluctant one, put through by President Truman against the machinations of his own State Department, which was concerned lest American oil rights in Saudi Arabia be jeopardized and which was also being prodded by the British. Since that time the State Department diehards have tried to live down that vote by repeatedly yielding to Arab intransigence. It is true that the United States has been generous in its economic support of Israel. That support can be attributed less to the State Department than to the broader understanding shown by Congress.

Although obviously preferring an Arab-Israel peace, yet not wishing to offend the Arabs, the State Department has never made any real attempt to consummate peace. On more than one occasion it has been an undercover ally of the Arabs in preventing the passage of U. N. resolutions which would have brought the issue to a head. Although the United States is the source of the principal funds that have kept alive the Arab refugees, and although it has acknowledged that these refugees cannot go back to Israel and would not be happy there, it has made only desultory attempts to seek a permanent solution and has permitted the Arab governments to continue to use the refugee issue as a political football for eight successive years, while refugee demoralization grew apace and with it Communist penetration.

When Egypt seized and prevented the passage of ships bound for Israel through Suez, the United States voted against the Egyptian action but made no genuine effort to enforce the Security Council resolution. It forced U. N. action designed to hold up Israel self-development schemes—on Arab complaint—only to appease the Arabs. When border incidents assumed new heights of violence, particularly in the past two years, it contented itself with apportioning blame, usually to Israel.

In pursuit of that illusive military pact, the State Department taught the Arabs that they had only to increase their demands and the demands would be met. If this appeasement policy had been successful, it could perhaps be justified. But it has only brought the Arabs to the precipice of chaos and it has brought defeat to American long-term plans. This country's greatest *faux pas* was to conclude the arms agreement with Iraq before establishing peace in the area, and without any attempt to build support among the Arab peoples by concentrating on their basic needs.

Can the Crisis Be Resolved?

What hope there exists of stopping the Russians effectively is through the immediate settlement of the Palestine war; the abandonment, for the moment at least, of the American obsession with military pacts as the first step in the road to security; and the concentration on large-scale development for the area.

The settlement of the Palestine war would have the effect of ending the intense rivalry among the Arab states for allegedly "defensive" weap-

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ons against Israel on which the Russians have played so successfully.

Precisely because this is a moment of intense crisis, the U. N. should be brought into special session for the sole purpose of bringing about direct Arab-Israel peace talks. This is the primary function of the U. N. which has not dealt seriously with the threat to Middle-East peace since the armistice agreements of 1949—primarily because neither Britain nor the United States wished to offend the Arabs.

The Arab states will, of course, resist the effort, but Arab intransigence can no longer be allowed to be decisive. Today it is the Western alliance which needs peace, even more profoundly than Israel. Nor can any member of the U. N. afford to oppose a serious effort to produce peace negotiations. This includes the Soviet Union. Here is as good an issue as any with which to test the Soviet "new look." At the same time the challenge should put to India, principal advocate of peace within the U. N., to rally Asia behind such a move.

Both special effort and special machinery are needed to produce a genuine attempt to bring about peace discussions. Such an attempt presupposes the end of a policy of appeasement by both Britain and the United States. The United States has a number of very strong cards to play. Nasser has asserted he wants no war in Israel. Nor can he or his allies afford an enlarged war. He has also stated that he wants United States economic aid and technical assistance.

In exchange for peace the United States should be prepared to offer through the U. N.: (1) large-scale technical assistance, with no strings attached, to Egypt and the whole area; (2) a large reconstruction and development fund for under-developed territories; (3) the assurance of the revision of American economic policy, taking into account the needs of the underdeveloped territories and their inability to pay in dollars. Encompassed within the concept of a peace settlement must be the *a priori* assurance of the permanent rehabilitation in Arab lands of the Arab refugees, compensated for their lost possessions in Israel.

And if the Arabs refuse, what then? The Arabs cannot afford to be isolated and made the *de facto* satellites of the Soviet bloc. The United States could insure that isolation by utilizing both its influence with the members of the U. N. and the machinery provided in the Charter to prevent a threat to the peace. It could also refuse to continue to support 900,000 Arab refugees through a program which successive reports of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency have indicated is inadequate and demoralizing unless the refugees are permanently resettled.

The Necessary Steps

The time has come for Washington to state openly that the Arabs must recognize that Israel is here to stay and that the Arab demands that Israel adhere to the partition resolution of 1947 is a two-way street, and a phantom one at that. If Israel is to be required to adhere to the 1947 resolution, then the Arab states must restore the *status quo ante* which existed before they launched the Palestine war. This of course is a manifest absurdity. No power can turn the clock back.

Today the question of Arab-Israel peace far transcends the needs of Israel. It has become a dynamic necessity to the Western World. For it is quite clear that a war between the Arab states and Israel could not be localized. It threatens the involvment not only of the Western world with the Arabs and Israel, but of the Western world with the Russians.

But will the United States follow the course of decent practicality? There are no signs yet that it is ready to abandon its policy of appeasement. In the meantime Israel, surrounded by hostile neighbors, is fearful of the effects of the disturbance of the balance of arms in the Middle East. It is seeking a guarantee of its borders against aggression and sufficient arms to restore the military balance. The theory behind the latter demand is both the actual need of heavy arms for defense purposes and the fact that in the future, as in the past, Arab knowledge of Israel's capacity for defense may act as a deterrent against a full-scale offensive. As a holding action, both requests should be met promptly, even though they do not resolve the central situation.

Recent indications are that some heavy arms may be sold to Israel by the United States. Britain, it is reported, is trying to put a brake on this. Anxious lest its tenuous hold on the Middle East will be further weakened—it is urging full-scale appeasement if not of Egypt at least of the remainder of the Arab world—at the sacrifice of Israel, if necessary. Eden's offer to have Britain negotiate, a role for which its partisanship hardly commends it, was intended perhaps to fend off American rivalry for the same role.

Numerous feelers are now being extended to test reaction to the imposition of a Middle-East arms embargo by the U. N. Assuming that the Russians do not veto such a move, would such an embargo act as a pacifier at this stage?

The arms balance has already been upset by the speed with which Communist arms deliveries are being made to Egypt. So Israel is still vulnerable and all the inherent dangers already described remain. With such an embargo presumably Britain, France, and the United States would thus be restored as the balance wheels in the Middle East.

But if there is no peace—and an Arab-Israel war should nonetheless break out—their direct involvement is certain. Would Russia then stay out? An arms embargo is a halfway measure full of the most dangerous pitfalls. It is no substitute for peace.

Despite the statements of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Eden calling for peace, there is little evidence that practical plans are being explored to bring it about. The British are thinking of an occupation force of some 10,000 men to be sent to the area under U. N. auspices and to which they would contribute. In the State Department there is talk of persuading Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon to join the "northern tier" defense pact with Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain. The inducement? Arms in plentitude to offset the arms offer of the Russians. Thus in United States thinking, the *cordon sanitaire* against Russia would be enlarged—and most of the Arab world would split from Egypt. Further, Arab fears concerning Israel would be assuaged by arms, so the department reasons. If the pact was concluded—and then only—the United States would be prepared to give Israel certain security guaran-

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tees. But meanwhile Israel would be surrounded by its own *cordon sanitaire*—created by the arms of its sworn enemies!

Concerning Egypt, American counsel is divided. One school argues for quiet economic isolation, withdrawal of Point 4 aid and withholding of financial and other assistance in building the Aswam dam. Another school is for pressuring Israel into giving Egypt a land route through the Negev to Jordan. This, too, was in Eden's mind when he counselled Israel to compromise on territory.

Israel is not likely to grant Mr. Dulles this concession. And Mr. Dulles, if he continues to pursue the old policy of ever-larger appeasement, may awaken one day very soon to ever larger disaster.

II. Bulganin's Arabia . . *by Jon Kimche*

London

SECRETARY DULLES told Israel's Foreign Minister Sharett in Paris on October 26 that he rated the present Middle East situation to be more serious than that in Korea just before the outbreak of the Korean War. Five days later Britain's Foreign Secretary Macmillan told Dulles in Geneva that the stability of Britain's shaky balance of payments depended on the uninterrupted flow of Middle Eastern "sterling" oil. On the previous day, also in Geneva, Molotov had asked Foreign Secretary Macmillan and then Dulles "where it was written" that the Middle East had to be a purely Western preserve; why should the Russians not be able to buy influence there in the same way as the West—with arms?

Now consider these further facets of the present relationship of the Middle East to the two power blocs.

The Middle East supplies Western Europe, including the United Kingdom, with virtually its entire requirements of crude oil—90 per cent of continental Western Europe's needs and a slightly smaller proportion of Great Britain's. Its market value was around three billion dollars last year.

Strategically, the Middle East has become a kind of two-way springboard: the gateway for attacks on the "soft underbelly" of Greater Russia and the Soviet Union (as Molotov explained to Hitler and Ribbentrop at some length when they met in Berlin in November, 1940) and, in Western eyes, the one open flank of NATO.

What the Russians want, Britain's Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Slim, explained to the Egyptian Premier in Cairo five years ago, "is Egypt. Anyone who wants to hold the Middle East must hold Egypt. Egypt is the key to the Middle East." Since then the British and Americans have not stopped producing new schemes for the organized defense of the region against a Soviet attack until, two years ago, the Americans gave up hope of the British ever producing anything based on their traditional defensive thinking centered on the Suez Canal zone and the Arab alliances. In their place Secretary Dulles evolved the "northern tier" conception of a chain of alliances along the Soviet border—Pakistan, Iraq, and Turkey linked with Britain and the United States.

ALL EYES are now fixed on this "northern tier." It is said to be the real target of present day Soviet diplomacy. But militarily, to be honest, the "northern tier" today is more of a liability to the West than an asset. Except for Turkey, which is already in NATO, none of the other countries would delay a Soviet attack for even an hour.

Strategically, therefore, all the fuss about the importance of the "northern tier," or the supposed Soviet anxiety about its offensive potentialities, are quite unreal. The one real strategic Western force in the Middle East is the United States Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean. Officially, the United States cautiously goes no further than admitting that the fleet "exceeds thirty warships"; unofficially the number is said to vary between sixty and eighty, almost three times the size of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The naval force, with the most modern carriers, is probably the most powerful striking arm that the West has at its disposal anywhere on the Soviet periphery. Between it and the Soviet industrial heartland of the Ukraine and the Donetz basin there lies, as the main obstacle, the Dardanelles.

For centuries the Russians, Czars and Bolsheviks alike, have charged at the Straits like a bull in a china shop, both in diplomacy and in war. We have had to wait for Lawrence's colleague, Bulganin of Arabia, to demonstrate the unfailing efficacy of the strategy of indirect approach—in 1955 no less than in 1915.

Bulganin is in fact organizing the Arab revolt against the West much in the same way as Lawrence did against the Turks; only Bulganin's effort looks the more dangerous because, paradoxically, he is operating in peacetime while Lawrence was hampered by the pressures and demands of a world war. It is to the failure of the British and, to a lesser extent, the Americans to recognize since the end of second World War that they were in greater danger of losing the Middle East under conditions of peace than as a result of a war with the Soviet Union, that so many evident errors of policy can be traced. While the West was preoccupied with devising means to defend the Middle East against an attack from outside, the countries they sought to defend were disintegrating from within. Bulganin apparently understood the Lawrence strategy: if you cannot make headway in the Dardanelles, then try the Suez Canal.

Inside this "bigger Korea" there is also the Arab-Israel conflict. This has, however, changed qualitatively during the last two months, since the Russian entry into active Middle-Eastern politics. Here again is revealed the extent to which the Arab-Israel dispute has ceased to be a purely local affair capable of a local solution. For the "legalization" of Israel at the United Nations from November, 1947, until the end of 1948 was due largely to the bipartisan Soviet-United States policy toward the establishment of the state and toward the subsequent Arab attack upon it. This common outlook kept the Middle East out of the cold war for some seven years, until the

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cold war itself was called off throughout the rest of the world—and transferred to the Middle East.

In other words, whereas the Arab-Israel war in 1948 was in effect a local war between Palestine Jews and the Arab states, or, in another sense, a revolt of the Palestine Jews against the British Mandatory, it was certainly not part of the world-wide East-West conflict. But today this is no longer true. With the Soviet Union backing Egypt, and seeking to enroll also Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Lebanon on its side, it is not possible for either the United States or Great Britain to allow a war to take place which would extend the Soviet-Arab axis in the Middle East. However much it may go against the grain of many British and American friends of the Arabs, they will be compelled by Russia's intervention to side against Arab interests.

THIS is not necessarily a favorable development for Israel, except possibly in the very short run. Ultimately it means a setback for perhaps a generation to hopes for an Israel-Arab settlement. For now that the Arabs believe (whether it is true or not) that they have the backing of the mighty Soviet Empire against Israel and its supporters in the West, they have thrown aside caution and have proclaimed their intention of forcing a settlement upon Israel. Thus a considerable change has come in Arab thinking, and especially that of the Egyptian Premier Colonel Nasser, who as late as the beginning of this year was still saying privately that a settlement with Israel would be possible as soon as his regime was firmly in the saddle. Today he and his fellow Arab rulers are openly and honestly proclaiming their intention to erase Israel from the Middle East map at the first suitable opportunity.

Is this just big talk? Who can say? Colonel Nasser was described by one of his friends who was in Geneva during the foreign ministers' consultations on the Middle East as a man who was being driven into a corner. He has already antagonized large sections of the Egyptian public: the middle class, the working class, the Moslem Brotherhood, the supporters of Naguib, the Sudanese. But he has the army behind him, and the Czech arms deal provides him with the means to keep the army happy.

Egypt's domestic problems are not solved as simply as that. The material conditions of the mass of the people have hardly changed; in some ways the last figures produced by the Food and Agricultural Organization show an alarming decline in their living standards. But the Egyptians have indubitably enjoyed a psychological uplift as a result of Cairo's success in forcing the British out of Suez. This sort of morale boost does not maintain itself indefinitely, however; it requires constant feeding with new successes. These the army might provide once it is equipped with its new Czech equipment.

As one of the advisors who attended the Geneva conference on the Middle East informed the foreign ministers, Colonel Nasser is showing tendencies, not toward a Communist regime, but toward a "Peronista" rule which the Communists might tolerate and support. On the other hand, these same advisors believe that there may be "a 10 per cent chance" that Nasser may still show common sense and save Egypt and the Middle East from becoming the stage for a Great Power conflict. They have therefore counseled against precipitate action. They prefer to wait for a few more weeks to see what happens.

Western governments and the oil interests are understandably eager to win the Arabs back from the arms—the pun is intentional—of the Soviet Union. Naturally, they will look at Israel to see whether there is anything there that would buy off the Arabs from their Soviet course. As things stand there is little there they can still offer since the Arabs have made it clear that they will be satisfied with nothing less than Israel's unconditional surrender, its national suicide. And since this is a contribution that Israel is unlikely to make to the Western cause, the way out has to be looked for elsewhere. In fact, it might be advisable for Western statesmen—and for the oil companies—to have a closer look at the state of affairs in the Arab countries concerned.

Anyone who is in touch with the younger Arab generation, especially the students in London and Paris who provide so large a proportion of the future leaders at home, cannot help noticing that Bulganin's Arabia is not confined to the geographic limits of the Middle East. His "revolt" has made far more headway among the younger Arabs of today than Freya Stark ever did among the young *effendis*. Already a new Arab demand is making itself heard: the nationalization of oil.

The fact is that between them the Russians and the West have virtually deprived the moderate socialistic elements in the Middle East, which had a common platform of reform for the entire region, of all political influence. These elements have been ground between extremist militarism and extremist communism, and without them the West is doomed in the Middle East. The British Labor government, when in power, had an opportunity to support them and failed to do so; the opportunity has not recurred. The United States thought that "progressive" military regimes such as Shishekli's in Syria and Naguib's and Nasser's in Egypt would be an effective substitute; they were not. So now the West has again to seek to establish a framework acceptable to the people, that will advance the prosperity and peace of the region.

THE task will not be easy. Clearly the first objective must be to avoid the complete political disintegration of the region. All kinds of possibilities have been suggested. Constitutional difficulties and delays are involved in the proposed United States guarantee to Israel; yet for the moment the center of uncertainty is Israel's future. Will it be left alone to fend for itself? Such a course would put a premium on trouble. Or can Israel be integrated into the international community in a manner which would add stability to the region?

Now that the Russians in Geneva are looking upon NATO with friendlier eyes, there are many who suggest that Israel be taken into NATO, thus giving it a cover which it needs and, at the same time, demonstrating to the Russians that the West still has strength in the Middle East. For it seems that the Middle Eastern cold war will not be resolved from positions of weakness any more than it was in the West. And without question Israel is the West's strongest card in bringing about not another Korea, but a Middle Eastern Geneva.

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WESTINGHOUSE STRIKE

Old Wounds, New Tensions . . *by William Jacobs*

Pittsburgh

ON OCTOBER 10, 1952, James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-C. I. O., thought the folks at the Westinghouse Electric Corporation were a pretty nice bunch of fellows.

With Westinghouse President Gwilym A. Price by his side, he told the delegates at the I. U. E.'s international convention:

> What is important is that we've found a way to sit down, discuss, argue, and then resolve those differences in the truly American spirit of give and take. . . . That is the spirit and only justification for collective bargaining.
>
> We are looking forward to a better era, more productive relationship, as time goes on.

Three years later there is very little evidence that the "better era, more productive relationship" described by Mr. Carey is anywhere near at hand. In fact, it appears to be quite distant. What happened? To the 55,000 Westinghouse employees who are now on strike against the company in the current contract dispute, the reasons are not important. Their morale is shattered. Their wives are moody and angry. The workers long for the security of a stable peace between their union and their company.

The present walkout, which started on October 17 and includes both the I. U. E.-C. I. O. (44,000 members) and its rival union, the left-wing independent United Electrical Workers (10,500 members), has hit forty of the company's plants. Its origin was in a wildcat walkout that took place among 2,200 so-called "day workers" in the East Pittsburgh plant of the company last summer, when a crew of industrial engineers, with stop watches in their hands, proceeded to make time studies of such employees as janitors, watchmen, sweepers, and other "day workers" who have no incentive-pay inducement.

I. U. E. stewards immediately called protest meetings. The company, no pushover in such matters, meted out discipline to the employees who left their jobs in protest. Before anyone fully realized it, a full-blown strike was on, quickly spreading to twenty-seven other Westinghouse plants.

THE company's position was simply that it would not negotiate away its right to manage its plants. Nor would it submit those rights to interpretation by an arbitrator. The union took the position that it would arbitrate, but that it would continue the strike to protect the 2,200 day workers from the "wage-cutting and speedups" that it claimed would result if the company was permitted to take time studies of their jobs. Ultimately pressure from the union members, especially production workers who were innocent third parties to the dispute, broke the strike. On September 16 the employees voted to go back to work. The company agreed only that the time-study issue could be brought up during the national contract negotiations scheduled for the following month.

The walkout cost an estimated $9,000,000 in wages; whether the union made any real gain by projecting the day-worker issue into the national negotiations is open to serious doubt.

Early last month Westinghouse negotiators, headed by Vice-President Robert D. Blasier, sat down at the bargaining table with representatives of various unions representing its employees, including the I. U. E., the U. E., and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers-A. F. of L. Little or no progress resulted, and on October 17, the I. U. E. walked out across the nation. The U. E. joined them on October 26.

But an independent union representing some 17,000 white-collar employees, the National Federation of Independent Westinghouse Salaried Unions, broke the labor front on October 29, signing a five-year package proposal which the company offered all its workers. Immediately, Westinghouse announced similar benefits for all employees not represented by a union.

Thus today the burden of the situation rests on the shoulders of the fiery Mr. Carey, and the question most frequently asked of him is: "Why did you reject the Westinghouse offer when you accepted a similar proposal from their chief competitor, General Electric?"

The Westinghouse offer spurned by both the I. U. E. and the U. E. contains the following major proposals:

1. Pay raises for all employees of 3 per cent in 1955, 1956, and 1957; 3.5 per cent in 1958 and again in 1959. G. E. had settled for 3 per cent the first three years, 3.48 per cent the next year, and 3.46 in 1959. But the G. E. raises are cumulative; the Westinghouse raises are based on 1955 rates. "But," Westinghouse adds hastily, "present average Westinghouse wages are higher."
2. Additional raises for skilled hourly and salaried employees of ½ cent to 12 cents starting at the $1.78½ rate.
3. The minimum increase would be 4½ cents in 1955, 1956, 1957, and 5 cents in 1958 and 1959.
4. A cost of living increase averaging about 1 cent for each half-point increase in the cost of living index.

In addition, the Westinghouse offer included pension improvements, better social insurance, longer vacations in the eleven- to fifteen-year service group, and three days off with pay in the event of a death in the immediate family. The contract was to run for five years, and could be opened for "employment security" after three years.

WILLIAM JACOBS was a labor reporter and is now assistant city editor of the Pittsburgh Press.

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Other matters covered in the G. E. proposal have already been in effect at Westinghouse—the union shop (in effect the last four years), supplementary pay for jury duty, and double time for work in excess of twelve hours.

Mr. Carey had termed the G. E. settlement "splendid." Why is he rejecting the similar Westinghouse offer? "The truth is," said Mr. Carey, "that Westinghouse is launching a wage-cutting and speed-up program . . . and is using time studies for non-incentive workers for this purpose. G. E. has no such program." The company, he adds, is trying to conceal the fact that it is violating the existing agreement, which still has a year to run. "Violation of the contract by the company has become, particularly during the past three years, all too common." For this reason. Carey told United States mediators to tell Westinghouse that "I absolutely will not negotiate a five-year contract."

FURTHERMORE, Mr. Carey points out, the Westinghouse offer is not as good as the G. E. settlement in a number of respects. For example: G. E. pensions for employees retiring after thirty-years service are nearly $20 per month better than Westinghouse's, and $45 per month better for employees quitting at the age of sixty after twenty-five years of service. The G. E. disability-retirement pension, after fifteen years of service, is $100 per month, while the Westinghouse figure is $63.75. G. E. life insurance is for $8,400, Westinghouse for $6,750; nevertheless G. E. employees pay $1.35 less per month in premium.

The company has a different answer as to why Mr. Carey liked the G. E. offer but refuses that made by Westinghouse. Some of its spokesmen insist that Mr. Carey disliked the G. E. contract, which was negotiated by the union's G. E. conference board while he was in Europe—and signed it on his return only because he knew he could not control the board. It is the Westinghouse theory that Mr. Carey, in order to demonstrate to the board that it could have obtained a better settlement, has determined that he will get at least a little more from Westinghouse.

Whether or not this is so, many involved in the walkout want some

answers from Mr. Carey. A group of strikers' wives at the Sharon, Pennsylvania, plant recently asked him whether the strike was caused "by a fight for leadership within the I. U. E., the initial friction being caused by the signing of the five-year contract with the G. E. corporation without your full consent or blessing?" So far, Mr. Carey has not replied.

The basic issue, a spokesman for the union leader said the other day, is the time-study plan for the day workers. He asserts that the company refuses to establish any contract machinery, such as arbitration, which might arise from the instalation of an incentive system for these workers. On the other hand, the company has consistently maintained that it will not arbitrate its right to make such time studies, and it adds, "there are some questions, like wage and salary rates, which no company in a highly competitive business can rightfully delegate to an arbitrator or any other outside third party who doesn't have to live with and be responsible for the decisions he makes."

The trouble at Westinghouse goes back to World War II days, when Westinghouse employees were mostly covered by a contract between the company and the left-wing U. E. Westinghouse, like a great many other companies at that time, permitted the union certain unwonted privileges in the interest of obtaining uninterrupted production of war material. When the war ended, two things happened. The anti-Communist element in the U. E., led by Mr. Carey and Harry Block, Philadelphia C. I. O. leader, launched a determined bid either to win control of the union or to lead a majority of its members into a new union under the C. I. O. banner. Both Carey and Block made determined bids at U. E. conventions to defeat the incumbent officers. Time after time they were thrown back in disorder by the forces of Albert J. Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak, and James Matles. Finally, in 1948, C. I. O. President Philip Murray took a hand in the fight after the U. E. had flaunted C. I. O. policy and supported Henry Wallace, the Progressive Party's candidate for President. Along with a number of other left-wing C. I. O. unions, the U. E. was thrown out of the C. I. O. and the new International Union of Electrical Workers chartered to provide a home for the many anti-Communist members in the U. E.

MEANWHILE Westinghouse had to continue to do business with the old union exclusively until National Labor Relations Board machinery could be set in motion to certify the new group as bargaining agent. This meant long and bitter inter-union battles, a situation hardly conducive to stable labor relations in the Westinghouse chain. In due time, however, the I. U. E. was certified to bargain for the Westinghouse employees at East Pittsburgh. The company chose just this moment, when the new union hardly had time to consolidate its newly won ground and was still battling the U. E. desperately at other Westinghouse plants, to begin a drive to eliminate some of the privileges that the U. E. had been allowed to enjoy during the war. Immediately local union politicians, seeking to use the company's untimely "get tough" policy as a means for strengthening their own positions, claimed that the company was trying to destroy the infant I. U. E. The squabbling went on for two years or more, until the company finally countered with a move designed to stabilize the I. U. E. situation by granting it the union shop while withholding the same privilege from the U. E.

This brought peace for a time, but when the stop watches appeared in East Pittsburgh last summer, the old fights exploded. One company spokesman called the whole thing a blunder in communications. He believes that if some pains had been taken to inform the union stewards of the company's plans, the time studies might have proceeded without difficulty.

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KAFKA, ARMY STYLE

Trapping the Heretic G.I. . . *by Dan Wakefield*

A FEDERAL courtroom in New York City's Foley Square turned out to be the scene, on October 18, of the greatest suspense in the army careers of eight draftees. They have seen no battlefields, and wouldn't, even if their country were engaged in a "shooting war," for the army feels that these eight soldiers can serve it best not by risking their lives but by losing their reputations.

They are eight of the many "security-risk" inductees who face the deprivation of an honorable discharge because of associations, kinships, reading, writing, and oral expressions in civilian life before being called into service. The army doesn't want them—but it waits until they are in and cannot get out without a lifetime stigma of undesirability before it dismisses them. The eight men whose case is pending in federal court had all completed basic training and put in at least six months of service when they received letters this summer listing the army's allegations against them, which ranged from Communist membership to activities of relatives.

These eight men are challenging the constitutionality of the army security program, and unless the court upholds them they face the official black marks of an "undesirable discharge," or, at best, a "general discharge, under honorable conditions." The army has cross-petitioned to dismiss the case from the federal courts, the arguments are in, and both sides are waiting. It is rumored that the army is holding up "security" proceedings on some forty other soldiers at Fort Dix until Judge David N. Edelstein announces his decision.

Outside of official spheres, thousands of civilians whose lives could eventually be affected by the current army security program are waiting, and some will meet at a rally for the eight soldiers November 22 at Carnegie Hall to hear Professor Mark DeWolf Howe of the Harvard Law School discuss the case.

It is a case that clearly tests the power of the army to invade the realm of civil rights, for it is not based on a denial of the army allegations. It is based on the rights of men to have the beliefs and associations charged in the allegations without being punished for them. None of the eight men involved filled out the army loyalty form (DD form 98). They all pleaded either the First or the Fifth Amendment, or both. Under the present army security program, which had its origin in 1950 and has been only slightly altered since, they were allowed to be inducted, although there was no possibility that any could receive an honorable discharge, no matter what his service to the army might be.

AS A matter of fact, all eight have service ratings of a least "excellent," but the form of discharge is not determined by this—even though the Universal Military Training and Service Act declares that the draftee's discharge should be based on "the character of the service he has rendered while in the armed forces."

This is one of the major points that Stanley Faulkner, an attorney for the eight plaintiffs, emphasized in his argument before Judge Edelstein. Two other key Faulkner arguments are that if the eight draftees receive anything less than an honorable discharge it will be a violation of the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment, due to the loss of honorable-discharge property rights, and a violation of the First Amendment (freedom of speech and press) due to the army's allegations in some of the cases referring to speech and reading matter.

Assistant United States Attorney Harold Raby did not dispute these points in his argument for the army. He stuck to procedural and technical matters, reasoning that "the [plaintiff's] whole case is prematurely drawn," since the eight soldiers had not "exhausted the administrative remedies" by going through the army field-board hearing that officially determines their type of discharge. But once this determination is made, the army admits that in its judgment it cannot be legally changed. In an earlier and still pending case, that is what the army told John Harmon, who "exhausted the administrative remedies" before taking his case to a civil court and then was informed that he had already passed the point of no return. The eight soldiers are asked to wait until the brand is officially on them to complain, and then they can complain all they want and the army will be undisturbed, for by its own rule the brand is indelible.

Those who bear the brand know what it means when they try to find a job. The property right of an honorable discharge—including mustering-out pay, accumulated leave pay, and veterans benefits—is most significant in its use as an "employment passport." The standards for an honorable discharge are remarkably flexible in all cases except those that deal with security. You don't have to be Audie Murphy to qualify, and there is little likelihood that in ordinary times anyone ever got a job solely because he had an honorable discharge. But there are countless cases of men who didn't get jobs solely because they didn't have one.

THE LACK of it especially hurts the men who aspire to professions and "respectable" business positions. Of the eight men who face undesirable discharges in the case now pending, four are trained to be lawyers; one is an engineer; another holds a master's degree in English.

An "undesirable discharge," and even a "general discharge" pushes its bearer outside the bounds of "respectability." The best type of discharge the army provides for these

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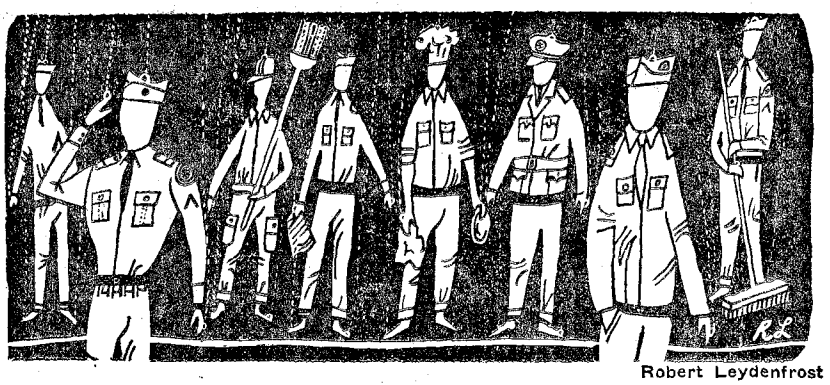

Robert Leydenfrost

cases—"general"—means that the man who has it is either a homosexual, a security risk, or perhaps of such a mental caliber that he can't properly execute the manual of arms.

Thus the "security-risk" category imposed by the army carries over into civilian life. The assignation begins the moment the inductee fails to complete the loyalty form, or indicates on it what is judged to be "significant derogatory information." From that moment he becomes a character in a Kafka-like script, awaiting the inevitable "trial" of the field board hearing but not knowing when it will be or what additional allegations and questions it may involve. He may go through the motions of defense, summon his lawyers, and hope for the best, but all along everyone knows that there is no way out to an honorable discharge.

Before the hearing they wait, usually in part-time "household" jobs such as the eight draftees at Fort Dix were assigned after basic training—barracks firemen, orderly, clerk. The jobs of these eight men were suddenly switched, however, after a column by Murray Kempton discussing their case and the useless type of service they were assigned to appeared in the New York *Post*. November 1 they got new assignments as "operating personnel."

According to Army Regulation 604-10, men in the category of the eight at Dix "will be retained on specially controlled duties in the lowest enlisted pay grade permitted by law" and "not be reassigned outside the major command in whose area the training station is located."

They now have jobs in the army, but whether they will leave it with the possibility of getting jobs outside is still undetermined. The oldest among them is twenty-eight; the youngest is twenty-two. What national interest can be served by dismissing them with the stigma of undesirability is a difficult question to answer. No matter what beliefs or associations they have had in civilian life, they will carry their own rewards and punishments irrespective of scars inflicted by the army. An official "wound" is quite unnecessary, and, as these eight men hope their case will prove, unconstitutional.

BETRAYAL IN BRAZIL

A Legacy of Disorder . . *by Paulo Duarte*

[*An "anti-coup" by the Brazilian army was put through last week designed to prevent, so its leaders said, a revolt opposed to the inauguration on January 31 of President-elect Kubitschek.*]

Sao Paolo, Brazil

THE PRESIDENTIAL elections are over but the situation in Brazil remains unsettled. The country is still suffering from the betrayal of the 1930 revolution which swept Getulio Vargas into power. Vargas was elected then because of the liberal program which he espoused, and because he won to his side all those elements opposed to the corruption of the old oligarchy, in which all power was concentrated in the hands of a few patriarchal families. But Vargas was not long in office before he showed his own bent for another form of anti-democratic government—*caudillismo*, the Spanish-American version of the Franco dictatorship.

Caudillismo was typical enough elsewhere in Latin America, but Brazil, thanks to the centralizing force of the monarchy and its deep roots in the European tradition, had kept fairly clear of it. Even after the republic was proclaimed in 1889, *caudillismo* was confined more or less to Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil's southernmost state, which is strongly under the influence of neighboring Spanish-culture countries. The southern border was Getulio Vargas's birthplace, and in that climate he received his political education. So it was not surprising that, once in power, he contrived with the help of the young "lieutenants" of the 1930 revolution to subvert developments to his own ends.

The liberal movement thus would have come to an abrupt end had it not been for two important events: the 1932 revolution and the rise of Armando de Salles Oliveira to public prominence.

The 1932 uprising was not "Brazil's War of Secession," as some have claimed. It represented the effort of the state of Sao Paolo to preserve the constitutional principles of 1930 that were being betrayed by Vargas. Although the revolt was crushed by force of arms, the movement had so great an influence upon the country that Vargas felt impelled to call a constitutional assembly made up of representatives from all the states—including Sao Paolo.

Vargas was further obliged to ap-

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point Salles Oliveira as interim governor of Sao Paolo. Salles Oliveira was on the staff of the big daily newspaper *"O Estado de S. Paulo"* which had espoused the revolution of 1932. He displayed such statesmanly skill in office that he was elected to a regular term after the new constitution had been promulgated. His reputation continued to grow and soon he was in high esteem over the country as the logical successor to Vargas, whose term was to expire in 1938.

But Vargas had no intention of yielding power. In November, 1937, on the eve of the presidential elections, he conspired with a group of totalitarian generals to stage a *coup d'etat,* on the pretense of saving the country from a Communist plot. Salles Oliveira and several of his leading followers were exiled; a special police network was established that soon became notorious for torture and murder. *Caudillismo* had come to Brazil.

After eight years of one-man rule, Vargas was himself overthrown by the army. But he had had time to corrupt the country. He had convinced the illiterate masses that he was the "father of the poor"—but he espoused no program that would greatly benefit either peasant or worker. As long as it suited his purposes he posed as the subservient ally of the United States. When the masses became intoxicated by Communist propaganda, he reversed himself and shouted the slogan "Brazilian oil for Brazilians." He congratulated Hitler on his successes in 1940 while at the same time declaring himself the faithful friend of President Roosevelt.

This demagogic skill returned Vargas to office in 1950, and back with him came his corrupt and ruthless cronies. Four years of misrule ensued until the assassination of a young air-force officer gave a spark to growing discontent in the armed forces. When the shooting occurred in August, 1954, the air force conducted an investigation. It was learned that the real target of the killers was a journalist, Carlos Lucerda, who had refused to be intimidated by the police in his criticism of the Vargas regime. Furthermore, the killers were members of Vargas's personal guard. Air-force officers entered the presidential palace and arrested the guilty men.

Kubitschek Oliveira

Vargas was forced to resign. And, after declaring that he had never suspected there was so much mud underneath his own house, he committed suicide.

A period of confused struggle for power followed between the armed forces and the cronies of Vargas. Finally, the military combined in the effort to rally the country around a single candidate who would launch a program of moral and financial restoration. But the Vargas forces—soon called "Vargas's widows" and "the eaters of the corpse"—came up with a typewritten letter they claimed their chief had written a few moments before his suicide. In it, Vargas is quoted as saying he fell a victim to foreign imperialism. Vargas could not type, nor did his family permit scrutiny of the document. Nevertheless, it served as a crowd-dazzler for the slate of candidates backed by the old gang.

The presidential candidate of the "widows" was Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, the former governor of the state of Minas Gerais, whose administration had been characterized by profiteering on a large scale. Jaoa "Jango" Goulart was picked to run for vice-president. Goulart, a young adventurer from Rio Grande do Sul, was one of Vargas's favorites and held the post of secretary of labor at the time of his death. One incident in his public career indicates Goulart's character: Vargas prodded the Bank of Brazil into lending Goulart some 20,000,000 cruzeiros with which to purchase a large estate from one Gregorio Fortunato. Fortunato was Vargas's chief bodyguard and the man who later organized the assassination plot that misfired. Fortunato had, shortly before the loan, "purchased" the estate from Vargas. Thus Goulart served as a "front" in a thinly veneered shakedown of the bank.

Both Oliveira and Goulart won the endorsement of the Brazilian Communist Party in exchange for about 10,000,000 cruzeiros, according to the newspapers. Their candidacy benefited also from another source: Adhemar de Barros, former governor of Sao Paolo, entered the race and divided the anti-Vargas supporters. He is said to hold one of the largest fortunes in the country—much of it accrued while in office. Three suits against him for misappropriation of public funds were filed shortly after he announced he was going to run.

FACED with the double threat of Communist-backed candidates on the one hand and a suspected corruptionist on the other, many democratic leaders joined with the military in planning a *coup d'etat* that might save the country. However, another candidate appeared, a conservative and honest soldier named General Juarez Tavora, and the new hope he offered led to the shelving of the schemes for revolt.

Now the elections are over. Although the tabulation is not completed at this writing, the choices of the old Vargas gang, Oliveira and Goulart, appear to be the victors. General Tavora trails by about 200,000 votes in a total of 10,000,000 cast. Adhemar de Barros is a badly beaten third. But the situation hardly promises any lasting quiet in Brazil. Once Oliveira's shady past, his dalliance with the Communists, and his ties with the Vargas family become more generally known, trouble will come. Clear-sighted, democratic-minded Brazilians have already evinced their willingness to join with the armed forces in an attempt to destroy the insidious and alien weeds of *caudillismo* and gross corruption that the late Getulio Vargas implanted in their country.

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BOOKS

Fiction Or Fabulous Fact?

NOTES FOR A JOURNAL. By Maxim Litvinov. Introduction by E. H. Carr and a Prefatory Note by General Walter Bedell Smith. William Morrow and Company. $3.75.

By Ernest J. Simmons

IF THE late Maxim Litvinov's "Notes for a Journal" is authentic, then it is perhaps the most sensational and significant document to emerge from behind the iron curtain in the whole thirty-eight years of the existence of the Soviet Union. Its significance rests on the claim that it contains detailed accounts of the internal and foreign policies of the Communist Party as they originated in meetings of the Politburo, as well as many revelations of the activities of the secret police, military intelligence, and of the conversations and intimate relations and actions of Stalin and the top leaders of the party, all set down by an Old Bolshevik who remained faithful to the party in deed if not always in spirit, and whose high position as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs would most certainly have given him access to the kind of information he relates in this book.

The case for and against authenticity is well argued in the introduction by the distinguished British expert on Russia, Mr. E. H. Carr. The evidence he presents on both sides cannot be fully considered within the scope of a review. Without dismissing the possibility that the manuscript is a complete forgery or fiction, Mr. Carr cautiously concludes: "My present belief is that it contains a substratum of genuine material emanating in some form or other from Litvinov himself. But parts of it are certainly accretions added later by another hand or hands; and, while some of the accretions may be the authentic recollections of someone closely associated with Litvinov, others appear to be pure fiction."

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Carr does not specifically single out any of the entries which he believes to be "pure fiction," except "the farcical account of events in the Paris Embassy in 1930" and the early references "to an alleged Russian proclivity for stealing watches" which, he seems to believe, reflect "gossip current all over Europe in 1945." (The present reviewer can attest to the fact from his own experience that a watch was a very precious object in the Soviet Union, and the rare owners in the early days had to guard them carefully.)

FURTHER, it is not easy to agree with Mr. Carr's theory that passages of personal petty scandal, especially from 1937 on, reveal an alien second hand. There appears to be no apparent change of tone in the entries after 1937, though they are more sketchy in content and less frequent. Passages dealing with the scandalous behavior of party officials persist throughout the whole journal. Although there may have been some editing, there seems to be no conclusive evidence for doubting the authenticity of any passages or parts; either the whole is authentic or the whole is spurious.

In so far as he could obtain the facts, Mr. Carr gives the history of the manuscript. While abroad, either in the late 1930's or early 1940's, Litvinov dictated the journal from notes that he had made earlier. Two typescripts, along with a manuscript of additional entries which he dictated in the Soviet Union after his return from Washington in 1943, were entrusted to Madame Kollontai, then on a visit to Moscow from her diplomatic post in Sweden. She is supposed to have destroyed parts of the later typescript because she found there entries so compromising that she feared to carry them across the frontier (a detail of the history hard to credit, for the extant part of the manuscript as we now have it would appear to have been most compromising to anyone connected with it in the climate of terror that existed in Moscow over those years.) On her retirement in 1945 and return to Moscow, Mme. Kollontai left the manuscript in the hands of another person, presumably abroad, with the injunction that it was not to be published until after Litvinov's death (another worrisome detail in the account, for she is pretty plainly referred to in the manuscript as the recipient of it, and hence might easily have been implicated if it had been published before her death). Both Litvinov and Madame Kollontai died in 1952, after which the manuscript seems to have found its way to Russians in Paris who submitted it for publication.

The frankness, independence of judgment, and something of Litvinov's point of view on Soviet policy as revealed in the journal find support in interviews which he gave to our former Moscow ambassador, Walter Bedell Smith, and to Mr. Richard Hottelet, an American correspondent in Moscow, in 1946. If the journal is a forgery, Mr. Carr believes that the only motive for publishing it would be a commercial and not a political one for, he asserts, "the document as a whole serves no apparent propaganda purpose. . . ." Readers will differ on this latter judgment, for it will seem to some of them that the total picture presented by the journal represents a sweeping indictment of many of the policies and actions of Soviet leaders, to say nothing of their personal lives. However this may be, the bulk of material in the journal has the ring of truth. Many of the facts recorded check with what we know. If the journal is a forgery, then it is an extraordinarily skilful one and could have been perpetrated only by someone who was extremely intimate with Litvinov.

The journal covers the years from 1926 to 1939, although there are many gaps and omissions which Litvinov may have intended to fill in but never did; then there are a few brief and broken entries for later years down to 1950. Naturally the main subject is Soviet foreign policy, especially concerning the Far East and the problem of Germany. The broad lines of this policy are familiar enough, but we observe it

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developing in meetings of the Politburo to which Litvinov was invited, in private conversations with party leaders, or in his own comments or self-searchings in the journal. Surprising information comes to light, such as a reported visit of Mao Tse-tung to Moscow as early as 1926; the "Hunan fox," says Litvinov, was craftier than the "Georgian fox"; an early attempt of Stalin to promote peaceful "coexistence" with capitalist countries by leasing the mineral exploitation of Kamchatka to a group of New York bankers; and the amazing conspiracy, initiated by Stalin in 1928, to prevent Stresemann from entering into a bloc with the Western Powers against the Soviet Union. To this end Stalin used his own military leaders in a "plot" with the German General Staff to set up eventually a military dictatorship in Russia. If true, the effort indicates that even this early the Soviet fear of a German-Western combination had begun to dominate the country's foreign policy. Further, the "plot" sheds new light on the reasons for the execution of these same military chieftains in the purges of the 1930's; it was not the only time that prominent leaders were killed for carrying out "treasonable acts" on orders from Stalin.

THE ENTRIES indicate Litvinov's wisdom in foreign policy. "It is surprising," he remarks, "how our people regard all foreigners as fools." As early as 1929 he saw clearly that "another world war is inevitable," and that "the danger now is not in the least from countries whose capitalism is long established, but from such countries as Germany and Japan which need both markets and raw material." And in 1950 he predicts that the policy of the newly allied China and Russia, if persisted in, will lead to war. "It is said that the first step will be taken in Korea," he comments.

Though considerations of foreign policy predominate in the journal, its interest is heightened by many entries on a variety of other themes. We learn much of the bewildering ramifications of the activities of the domestic and foreign members of the secret police and military intelligence. These agents are in every nook and cranny of the world, and they seem able to produce the intimate conversations of the bedroom as easily as a precise copy of a secret agreement between nations. Manipulated by such sadistic psychopaths as Yagoda and Ezhov, they committed endless horrors many of which are recorded by Litvinov in commenting on the extermination of the opposition after the expulsion of Trotsky in 1928 through the executions of the great purges up to 1938. Conscience-stricken himself, Litvinov remarks: "I have always been opposed but, after all, I didn't do much to fight it." On more than one occasion he feared for his own life. When he left to take up his ambassadorship in the United States in 1941, he enters in the journal that Beria brutally told him that if he defected, his wife and children back in Moscow would pay with their lives.

NUMEROUS entries on the widespread prevalence of immorality among party officials and the whole foreign service suggest the evil-begetting power of evil in this nightmarish existence of constant fear. The old propaganda of the strict Puritan morality of the party was hardly subscribed to in practice by the leaders if we may believe the accounts of Litvinov, for hardly a single member of the Politburo was above reproach. Stalin himself was a leading sinner and his infidelities certainly contributed to the suicide of his wife. It is not the incidental debauchery of the great and powerful that is recorded, but the wholesale debauchery of a fear-ridden officialdom.

One of the solid contributions of the journal is Litvinov's brief but incisive and sometimes humorous portrayals of prominent Bolsheviks. His reactions, of course, are colored by his own prejudices, and especially by his sometimes justifiable conviction of the real or latent anti-Semitism of his colleagues, not excluding Stalin. Molotov and Vishinsky he obviously detested. Litvinov regarded Molotov as the party's "evil genius," a humorless, conceited, pedantic man who "understands nothing about foreign policy."

The numerous entries on Stalin add significantly to our knowledge of the man. Litvinov was plainly ambivalent in his reaction to Stalin. He regarded him as an unquestioned leader and astute in matters of policy. Stalin is cautious, he writes, "but his is the caution of a statesman. He does not want to begin anything without being 100 per cent certain of success." Yet he deplored Stalin's excessive Machiavellian tactics and his countenancing of the horrors of the secret police. With apparent disapprobation he quotes Stalin as saying: "Our party has always held formal democracy in contempt, even in its own internal affairs." And on another occasion he says of Stalin: "One can expect anything from him: he is capable of declaring himself military dictator, of disbanding the *Instantsia* (Politburo), of having the majority of its members shot. . . . Koba's (Stalin's) genuine ambition is to become the leader of world communism. . . ."

The journal reveals Litvinov himself as a clever, hardworking diplomat and a patriotic Soviet official who had won the respect of Stalin which may well account for the fact that Litvinov died a natural death. Yet he was a captive of the regime for which he worked, and in the end one gets the impression that he

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had lost all of his initial idealism. He complains that Stalin's socialism "is actually assuming a Genghis Khan character." Then in a moment of illumination he writes: "I sometimes regret that I left England. . . . It is true there was no other road and the Revolution appeared so luminous and so full of promise. . . ."

Ciardi's New Poems

AS IF. Poems New and Selected. By John Ciardi. Rutgers University Press. $3.50.

By F. Cudworth Flint

TO POEMS selected from three previous books, "Other Skies," "Live Another Day," and "From Time to Time," Mr. Ciardi has added a number of hitherto uncollected poems to make up "As If," a book which, of those I have seen by this poet, best performs for him the role he assigns to poetry when, as quoted on the dust-jacket, he says: "Poetry is AS IF's reality. When one has imagined ('lived as if') all his possibilities he may begin to guess who he is and what world this is." Even if *all* Mr. Ciardi's "possibilities" are not manifested in this book (and who could know this, except God!), the reader can at least begin to "guess" who Mr. Ciardi "is."

For one thing, he is, as the poems grouped in the sections labeled Tribal Poems and Fragments from Italy (and some of those in Some Scenes) attest, an American-born son of parents born in Italy, himself later a pilgrim to Italy, but remembering a boyhood in Medford, Massachusetts, beside

> The dirty river by religious explorers
> Named Mysticke and recorded forever into its future
> Civilization of silt and sewerage . . .

It is in poems of family reminiscence that Mr. Ciardi is least an excogitator of symbols—and how many poets, after Rimbaud, have dared refrain?—and most a *person,* affectionately detached ("having survived a theology and a war"), and warmly, appreciatively amused. The Evil Eye, recounting the efforts of worried female relatives to avert from him at his birth the curse indicated by the title, renders delightfully a scene of primitive flurry. In such poems, Mr. Ciardi does not try for dialect, or artificially limit his own point of view; he does not forget what he has learned as student of poetry. But his style is at its simplest. Any reader will find these poems immediately accessible.

The eight poems grouped under the rubric War Poems occasionally show a side of Mr. Ciardi presumably fostered by his years as a B-29 gunner in the Pacific—the now tight-lipped, now sardonic, and determinedly tough warrior who will not allow any situation or feeling to carry him overboard. No doubt, this attitude possesses a very great survival value in the actual circumstances of modern combat. What its survival value in letters may be is an open question: the future verdict on Hemingway will perhaps be the classical decision.

Poems Looking Out are about as various as one's surroundings can well be. Newsreel is an adroit and pungent imaging of the speeding up of "progress" to a climax (would a further step be conceivable?) in the instantaneity of a nuclear explosion:

> . . . we must learn
> How to take gulls apart so thoroughly
> There's only rain left, how to make eyes fingers mouth
> Of the invisible event a man is
> Behind his distance.

In other pieces (the word must have been suggested by the quotation) in this group, Mr. Ciardi's considerable gift of satire finds expression, as in Childe Horvald to the Dark Tower Came, in which he spoofs, deflatingly rather than crushingly, the chivalric-romantic-impetuous stance:

> And what would you
> Do if you were the magician hearing
> His boy-murderous blast shaking your phials and silences,
> Watching him come shouting St. Poobah and the dragon!
> Into your library and uncertainty! It takes
> More than civility to civilize
> The very young.

Critics in quarterlies and other places where they pontificate may be inclined to rate Mr. Ciardi by his poems in the more difficult modern manner—a hop-skip-and-jump from one fragment of imagery to another, across bottomless gulfs of implication; by such poems as Two Egrets in the section labelled Prayers, with its three fine concluding lines and its six distracting lines just preceding; or The Size of a Universe in the section Poems Looking In, where the gyrations of relativistic galaxies, super-added to the saltations of a symbolist presentation, left one reader both macrocosmically and microcosmically astray. Similarly confusing was some of the imagery in the sequence of poems To Judith with which the book opens, though here, on a second and third reading, some of the phrases presenting the body of the beloved lying beneath a wavering moonlight attained a precarious rightness. To my taste, Mr. Ciardi is most successful in this manner when the scheme of a particular poem allows him to reiterate his images. The chiming, heard and unheard, in Home Revisited: Midnight and Thursday is effective. Where the theme of a poem is embodied in ever new images, the reader comes to feel too much like a man hunting for a dozen different objects in a large and crowded Woolworth's with which he is imperfectly acquainted.

I end, rather than conclude, with a random query: Does the fact that I have, frequently enough to be remarkable, been able to understand one of Mr. Ciardi's poems up to the last two or three lines, but not to the finish, have any connection with the fact that Mr. Ciardi has "survived a theology?" It often seems to me that people who have done this do not quite succeed in confronting or evading or resolving death—and one of these strategies is almost forced upon the imagination of man. The unfulfilment of this challenge to the imagination introduces an unknown variable into every major pronouncement about life. But if this be Mr. Ciardi's predicament, it is not special to him; he is no more involved in it than many, perhaps most, of his articulate contemporaries. Moreover, his "as if's" add up, if not to a conclusion that can be asserted, at least to a humanity that can be felt.

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Emanations from Bloomsbury

THE MOTH AND THE STAR. A Biography of Virginia Woolf. By Aileen Pippett. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

By John R. Willingham

TRIAL balloons to assess the achievements of Bloomsbury and its "Bloomsberries" are sent up from time to time by the little, fashionable journals and the even smaller, would-be fashionable quarterlies. And ordinarily, before their cant runs out, Bloomsbury and its outstanding citizen, Virginia Woolf, have come in for either unqualified praise or supercilious dismissal.

Mrs. Pippett restores some of the dislocated, wrenched perspective for Mrs. Woolf and her associates, who have been under one kind of attack or another since the 1920's. This book makes it quite clear that the "Bloomsberries," early and late, were seriously concerned with the resuscitation of English thought generally and English art specifically. Without doubt, they formed a group as productive and as consecrated as England had produced since the pre-Raphaelites. The Hogarth Press, which Virginia and Leonard Woolf together operated, her interest in young writers, and her astute forays into literary criticism are revealing gauges of Bloomsbury's sense of esthetic and social responsibility. Roger Fry's labors on behalf of post-Impressionism find their nearest American counterpart in the roughly simultaneous crusading of Alfred Stieglitz. The ivory tower into which the Woolfs and their associates have been so often and so rudely forced by critical cliche hardly squares with the widely liberal political, social, and artistic interests of Bloomsbury.

It was Virginia Woolf's peculiar role, however, to transform something of Victorian earnestness into the vital shape of the modern novel and literary criticism. No small boon (and handicap, as well), as she recognized, it was to have been born the daughter of the formidable Leslie Stephen, to have spent her formative years within his aura, and to have absorbed so very much of his sincerity, his wide knowledge of literature, and his remarkable concentration. Throughout her literary career, she had to cope with the shade of this father and what he would have had to say about her work. If he had lived on, she admitted once, she probably would have done no writing at all.

She had the same sense of devotion to her craft—whether she was operating at any given moment as novelist, short-story writer, critic, or essayist—that eminent Victorians like her father and the Stephen family's friend, Henry James, had held. How seriously she took her work is revealed by the hell of doubt in which she suffered from the time she finished a piece of work until her husband and her public had passed a favorable judgment on it. And her physical and mental sufferings during the writing of her later books have been reported in some detail by her biographers and critics, whose reports are eloquently sustained by entries in her diary and her letters to Vita Sackville-West (both generously plumbed by Mrs. Pippett). But her work found favor with a larger audience during her lifetime than either her father or James had enjoyed (she even made the American best-seller lists with "The Years" in 1937). And of course her essays and reviews appeared frequently in British and American newspapers and periodicals of fairly general circulation.

Fourteen years after her suicide her real importance lies in the technical innovations her work suggested or in those upon which she fashioned refinements toward the exciting evolution of the twentieth-century English novel. No one in recent English fiction has been able to evoke as sharply as she the essence of the "moment," with all its intensity of awareness and its rich poetic imagery. The character of her work undeniably changed after she read and absorbed the meaning and lessons of Joyce's "Ulysses" and Dorothy Richardson's "Pilgrimage." And she profited by the exchange of ideas with her good friends, Vita Sackville-West, the poet, and Elizabeth Bowen, the novelist. But her work is never weakly derivative; her impressions, her ability to "make figures," the necessity of following her own bent were all too strong.

Once she asked in a letter to a friend, "Do we then know nobody?" And she immediately supplied the answer herself: "Only our own versions of them, which, as likely as not, are emanations from ourselves." Among the numerous biographers and critics of Virginia Woolf who have produced studies during the past few years, Mrs. Pippett encourages considerably greater faith in her "emanations." Her book is the product of a faithful storing and careful collation of "reverberations" to houses, neighborhoods, personalities, letters, journals, and events intimately associated with Virginia Woolf. As should be the case with a deliberate artist like Virginia Woolf, Mrs. Pippett's book makes no tiresome distinction between her subject's esthetic aims and accomplishments and the other compartments of her life. With Virginia Woolf, they were all peculiarly one and are so considered in this book. The result is the most revealing and certainly the most readable account so far of Virginia Woolf and her work.

JOHN R. WILLINGHAM is assistant professor of English at Centenary College of Louisiana.

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The Age of Palmerston

VICTORIAN PEOPLE. By Asa Briggs. The University of Chicago Press. $5.

By George Dangerfield

ALTHOUGH one may read this book with interest, and often with delight, it is clear that, somewhere in the course of it, Mr. Briggs has lost sight of his objectives. These are quite explicit. "The method I have adopted in his book," he writes, "is to try to discover the unity of society through a study of selected people who were alive and active in the 1850's and 1860's." This unity, we learn, may be expressed in terms of its refusal to become a "business society"; and this refusal was achieved through the resistance of small country gentry, the rise of a new civil service with a code of duty and self-restraint, the faithfulness of the world of labor to class solidarity, and the conformist attitudes of the business community itself.

This is a very interesting thesis, and it is a happy substitute for the more traditional explanation of this era in terms of a great trade boom. If Mr. Briggs loses sight of it, or fails to develop all its implications, it is because he is too willing to take his mid-Victorians at their own valuation. The Stracheyan method of turning their more characteristic utterances against them is no doubt old-fashioned; but the new anxiety to lend them a rather more than friendly ear is equally so. Critical no less than historical sense would seem to indicate that the past should be housed in some edifice that is neither a blackened sepulchre nor a whited one.

THUS Mr. Briggs's portrait of Robert Applegarth is a fascinating portrait of a high-minded, intelligent, and courageous labor leader; and Applegarth was all of these things. But the author's insistence upon an uncritical approach leads us to suspect that he sometimes interprets Applegarth more in terms of what he wished to be than of what he was. The man who said that the unions should be as much creatures of law as "all corporations and every club among the upper classes in Pall Mall and St. James" betrays, by his similes, a kind of thinking which Briggs simply ignores. In the same way, by making Trollope's "The Way We Live Now" an exception to Trollope's canon, he misses the point that Trollope in novel after novel made the upper classes not only imitable but (in their terrible anxiety about money) *purchasable* also. In this way he acquiesced in the triumph of that plutocracy which, as we learn from "The Way We Live Now," he sincerely detested; and one of the notes of his peculiar genius is the endless combinations he can get out of suffusing a traditional society with the new money values that are destined to engulf it. Almost any novel of Trollope's, from "Doctor Thorne" to "Mr. Scarborough's Family," contains a faint prevision of the appalling vulgarity of the Edwardian era.

Indeed, the unity of the Age of Palmerston must sometimes be interpreted as a subliminal gift for denying what it seems to mean and for heralding what it appears to hate. John Bright's great battle for reform was also a great battle for the negative state. The radical assault upon the old public-school system ended in the emergence of the new middle-class public schools, with their emphasis on gentility, "good form," and conservatism. In short, the conformity to tradition in the Age of Palmerston was both a unifying and a corroding factor. There are only transient traces of this is Briggs's book. I feel after reading it that, charming and instructive as its portraits certainly are, the author has succeeded in illuminating, not the unity of mid-Victorian society, but one of the dilemmas of contemporary England. Such are the odd effects of taking the past at its own word.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD is the author of "The Era of Good Feelings" and other books.

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE CALL FROM CALLE MORENO. By Maria Flores. Doubleday. $3.95. An expose novel of Peron's government in Argentina. Miss Flores, long familiar with the Peron regime, forcefully brings home the fact that dictatorship, no matter what the verbiage involved, exists by brutality. Her indictment, however, is seldom tempered by motivation; there is little depth to her portrait of police sadism and neuroticism.

THE YEARS OF THE CITY. By George R. Stewart. Houghton Mifflin. $4.50. The life and death of a Greek city-state, in a fine historical novel by the author of "Storm" and "Fire." Mr. Stewart wastes no effort on literary pyrotechnics; his book is scholarly, capable, and authentic.

THE LAST SUPPER and Other Stories. By Howard Fast. Blue Heron. $3. Powerful short stories of anger and despair in this new volume by Howard Fast. Unfortunately, Mr. Fast's range has narrowed past the point of diminishing returns; he seems preoccupied with his target rather than his fiction.

LORD OF THE FLIES. By William Golding. Coward-McCann. $3.50. A haunting story of savagery and fear, as English schoolboys find themselves isolated on a Pacific atoll. Mr. Golding, despite a deceptively casual manner, makes a slight tale into a symbol of instinct, the dark undersurface of the civilized mind. This is a "sleeper" in the best sense —readable and provocative fiction.

PARTISANS. By Peter Matthiessen. Viking. $3. The ideological Odyssey of a young man in postwar Paris. Some fine handling of scene and neat, controlled narrative. The difficulty with ideological touring, however, is the fact that the author must give some indication that he knows where he is going; Mr. Matthiessen is rather vague on this score, and ultimately the reader is left in the same condition.

NOT THE GLORY. By Pierre Boulle. Translated from the French by Xan Fielding. Vanguard. $3.50. Pierre Boulle, a novelist of clarity and wit, seems to have repeated himself in this story of a spy who is so much the technician he becomes a hero to the enemy. In "The Bridge Over the River Kwai" Mr. Boulle told of a Colonel Blimp working for the Japanese; in his new novel he writes of a Nazi doing the same thing for the British. The situation is still amusing, but now rather familiar.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

REVIEWERS continue to praise Thomas Scherman, conductor of the Little Orchestra Society, for his interesting programs of unfamiliar and new music, in the face of the actual programs that continue on the one hand to demonstrate Mr. Scherman's inability to judge what unfamiliar and new music is worth playing and what is not, and that on the other hand include works as familiar as Beethoven's Violin Concerto. The society's first concert of the season demonstrated Mr. Scherman's lack of every kind of judgment involved in the making of programs—in deciding, that is, what is worth playing, what to play with what else, how much to give the audience at one sitting. It was right to play Mozart's unfamiliar Piano Concerto K.451—right, that is, to give the public a hearing of one of the less interesting major specimens of that great genre; and similarly it was right also to play one of the less impressive works of one of the impressive figures of the twentieth century, the Concertino for piano and seven instruments by Janacek. But it was right to play them only if the other works on the program were of first quality; and it was wrong to offer them with the "first performances in New York" of a lengthy piece of inconsequential manipulation, the Argentine composer Ginastera's "Variaciones Concertantes," and the Symphony No. 2 of Gounod, whose inanity drove me out of the hall after two movements. Firkusny, who was the piano soloist, played more effectively in the Janacek piece with its dynamic sonorities and rhythms, than in the Mozart, in which he produced melodic phrases as mere insipid successions of notes without cohesive tension or contour.

As it happened K.451 was played again a few days later by Serkin and the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos; and the Sunday afternoon broadcast I heard offered also the Concerto K.503, which is the least played and least known of the great examples of the form (the only previous performances in New York being Schnabel's with the Philharmonic in 1944), possibly because it makes its effect not by the profusion of immediately appealing melodies of the other examples, but by grandeur of style and by the now dramatic, now subtle play with tonality, which the eighteenth-century ear was more sensitized to than ours. This calls for skillful articulation in performance, which the work did not get in the broadcast performance. Serkin's fingers too produced no cohesive tension in melody even when they sentimentalized it; and the only thing they did with passage-work was to execute it with the utmost in speed, in a performance which Mitropoulos paced too fast for the first movement to achieve its effect of grandeur.

James Fassett's performances in the intermissions of the Philharmonic broadcasts are inept and annoying intrusions I avoid; this time, however, I was interested in what Serkin might have to say about the two concertos in a conversation Fassett had taped in Serkin's home in Vermont; but he turned out to have very little that he could or would say. Fassett began by talking about a cadenza used in the performance of K.451 that had just been broadcast: In place of the one printed in the score, he said, Serkin had used another that Mozart sent his sister in a letter; and he asked Serkin to play "first the printed cadenza" and then "the one he wrote in a letter to his sister Nannerl." Serkin obligingly played the two requested passages without saying anything about their being not two cadenzas but two versions of a melodic episode in the Andante movement—the first the passage in its bare essentials as printed in the score, the second these essentials filled in with the ornamentation which the eighteenth-century pianist was expected to supply in performance. Moving on to K.503 Fassett asked whether this concerto was "the one with the finale in rondo form [that is a sort of] perpetuum mobile"; to which the audibly flustered Serkin refrained from replying that it was one of a number with such finales. And he was understandably inarticulate even when Fassett asked a sensible question—why K.503 hadn't been played as often as the other concertos: "No explanation," was Serkin's answer, which he could amplify only with the repeated exclamation "A marvelous work!"

As against the expressive and beautifully wrought dramatic music one hears in Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin" and "The Queen of Spades" the writing in "The Golden

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Slippers" is mediocre and feeble; and while this may be because it is an early work or because it was written for a prize competition, it may also be because nothing better was elicited by a libretto which the New York City Opera Company would have done better not to make understandable by translation. All of which amounts to saying the work wasn't worth producing; and the musical shortcomings were not gilded over by the coarse-grained performance conducted by Rosenstock, with tremulously shrill singing by Jean Fenn that increased the unpleasantness of the character of Oxana; nor was the effect of the libretto improved by the tasteless and amateurish production designed by Remisoff and staged by Rosing, in which for example one saw young Vakula in snow-covered winter clothing in a scene with girls in summer dresses. But I should add that Richard Cassilly exhibited a fine tenor voice, and that there was good singing by others in the cast.

Refreshing after all this was a final appearance by Escudero and a supporting company, which offered memorable last experiences of the contained outline, the elegance and distinction, of his silhouette; of his now quietly intricate, now spectacularly brilliant and powerful footwork; and of the controlled suppleness of Carmita Garcia.

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Letters

Student Strikebreakers

Dear Sirs: It is with great interest that I read Mr. Youngdahl's perceptive discussion of student-strikebreakers in the October 15 issue. This is a subject which has been ignored for the most part by the collegiate press and student groups.

However, unions themselves must share part of the blame because of the apathy, if not hostility, most unions show toward campus programs in areas where student groups and unions have common goals, such as the abolition of discrimination in employment, federal aid to education, election of liberal candidates, etc. Also, most unions have shown a conspicuous lack of interest in the civil liberties and academic-freedom problems which have in the last few years been of primary concern to liberal students. How many labor leaders have communicated any desire for their assistance to students?

PAUL BRESLOW

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Youngdahl might like to know that all is not lost: One of my friends here at the University of Chicago figures that he took an $800 beating this summer because he refused to "scab" on a lake boat. Also, last year a flying picket squad was organized by acquaintances of mine and went out once at 4:00 a. m.

RICHARD HELLIE

Chicago, Ill.

Wrong Alma Mater

Dear Sirs: We would like to call your attention to an error that appeared in your issue of October 22, 1955. In an article entitled Respectable Racism, Mr. Dan Wakefield states that W. J. Simmons, secretary for one of the units of the Citizens Councils, "prepared for the task ahead with a B. A. at Millsaps College. . . ." Mr. Simmons does not hold any degree from Millsaps College. He transferred to our school after one year at Mississippi College, and withdrew from Millsaps College after one year's study here.

PAUL D. HARDIN, Registrar

Jackson, Miss.

A Matter of Figures

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading an article in your September 17 issue by Nathan Perlmutter called Liberalism Cum Sex, in which he makes the statement that the circulation of the New York World Telegram and Sun "has fallen sharply from 541,000 to 519,000." The fact is that the newspaper's circulation was 570,000 at the September Audit Bureau of Circulation reckoning. The March 1955 figure was 560,000.

RALPH A. BROOKS

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Perlmutter's Reply

Dear Sirs: My figures are the Audit Bureau of Circulation figures for 1952-1954. Whereas they are annual figures, the ones quoted by Mr. Brooks are monthly. The annual circulation figure is seemingly a more accurate indication of a state of affairs than is a particular month's account. It does appear, in the hindsight of October, that the 1955 W. T. and S. circulation will rise—in no small measure due to the death of the Brooklyn Eagle, also an afternoon paper. At the time I wrote my article, however, the final circulation figure for 1955 was elusive—and will remain so until the end of the year

NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Montclair, N. J.

CORRECTION

Edgar Snow's editorial in the October 29 issue of The Nation should have referred to "50,000,000 inhabitants" (not 5,000,000) of French Africa; and to "2,000 square miles" (not acres) of Kikuyu lands.

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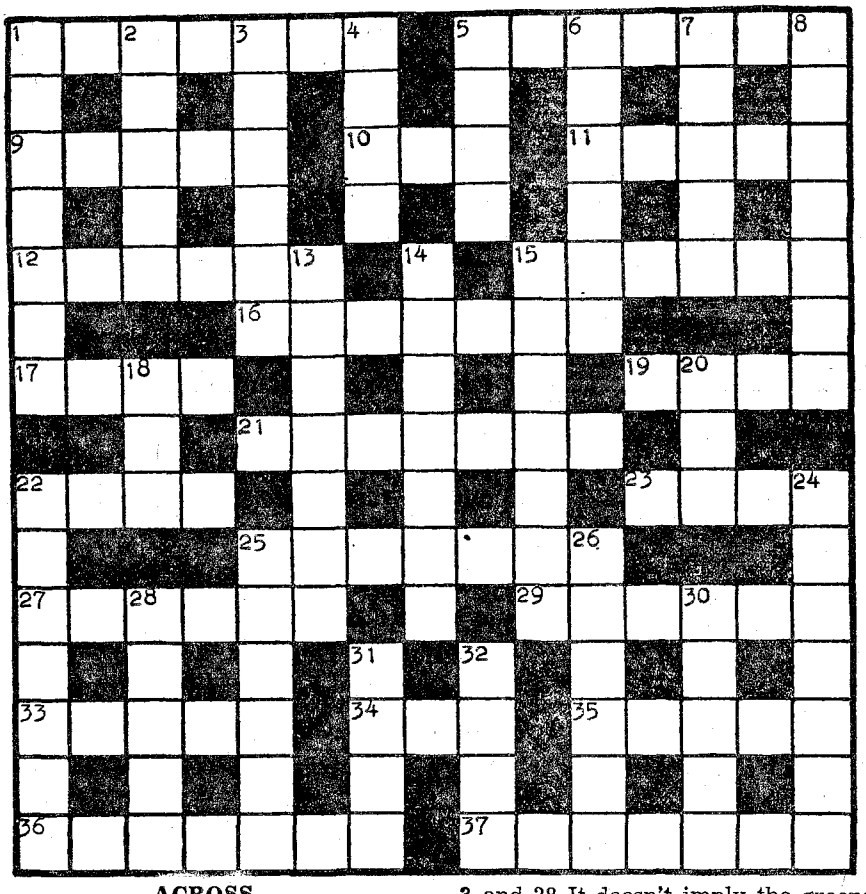
Crossword Puzzle No. 646

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 12, 5 across, 36, 20 and 37 Some DC horsemen entered a low place in Southern California. (4,3,6,2,5, 4,3,3,7)
9 Crushed stone. (5)
10 Sounds like the alternative might cause a row. (3)
11 See 1 down.
12 See 1 across.
15 Not quite so nice for a songbird. (6)
16 They 34. (7)
17 See 35 across.
19 This is the way things stand. (2,2)
22 and 21 The last word in women's costume, descriptive of an aster. (4,7)
23 Hewers of wood. (4)
25 Doesn't follow the straight and narrow. (7)
27 Subject to the payment of what 16 might leave. (6)
28 Outside, if I can't get it inside. (6)
33 He gets around everything to create a well-known orchestra. (5)
34 16 probably do, but it's nothing to us. (3)
35 and 17 Save us from such horror! (Unless it's an obviously side dish!) (5,4)
36 and 37 See 1 across.

DOWN

1, 11, 18 and 14 It implies one might associate cats and dogs with the consequences of even a small come-down. (2,5,5,3,2,5)
2 One and five do 20 down. (5)
3 and 28 It doesn't imply the greens are kept in order. (6,5)
4 Turned back collar of 9. (4)
5 14 with the pit removed could be sour. (4)
6 Constraint. (6)
7 Excuse. (5)
8 The loss is welcome to travelers. (7)
13 Chrome, as an exampple of them. (Park with a sort of 4.) (7)
14 See 1 down.
15 Arranged and rearranged 36 without the added color. (7)
18 See 1 down.
20 See 1 across.
22 Hide the old king around it. (7)
24 Attain the desired object and come next into the office. (7)
25 The way of the setter? (6)
26 Time that goes into dressing for 28? (6)
28 See 3 down.
30 Bent. (5)
31 Look to be usually marked off by fissure. (4)
32 The net result of keeping me quiet? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 645

ACROSS: 1 and 20 down LITTLE BY LITTLE; 5 TONGUE; 9 MANX CAT; 10; WITHERS; 11 NERVINE; 12 RELINES; 13 MAN OF THE WORLD; 15 PRESSING NEEDS; 21 GRIMACE; 22 SWAHILI; 23 ACTIONS; 24 ATTRACT; 25 SADIST; 26 ETHYLATE. DOWN: 1 LAMENT; 2 TANTRUM; 3 LECTION; 4 BUTTERFINGERS; 6 OUTFLOW; 7 GLEANER; 8 EAST SIDE; 10 WORTH ONE'S SALT; 14 SPYGLASS; 16 EVICTED; 17 SEASONS; 18 EXACTLY; 19 SPIRAEA.

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